1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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Financial support for the field work came from two sources. The Board of Research of the University of California contributed materially to field expenses and to the preparation of the manuscript. In addition, a substantial amount was made available for field expenses by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas in México. Funds for a preliminary survey of the Tarascan area, which resulted in the selection of Cherán for study, were supplied by the Board of Research of the University of California and the Instituto Politécnico Nacional.

The village of Cherán was chosen for several reasons. In the first place, it is the largest of the mountain Tarascan villages and consequently offered an advantageous opportunity for several people to work simultaneously. Until about 1937 Cherán was also one of the most isolated of the mountain Tarascan towns. In that year the grade for the branch highway from the Guadalajara–Mexico City highway to Uruapan was established. Paving of this highway was completed in 1940, but little effect on Cherán had yet taken place. This situation offered an attractive opportunity for later investigation of the results of lessened isolation. Finally, Cherán is an almost wholly Indian town, a situation which is not true of most of the large mountain Tarascan settlements. Actually, in 1940 only a few families in Cherán did not regard themselves as Tarascan. The non-Tarascan families were more or less transient and occupied a low position in the social scale; most of them were the flotsam left from the highway construction crews and had neither influence nor status in the town. The majority actually left the town during 1940.

[p. 1c]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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121 The exceptions were two storekeepers, both
177 from essentially Indian towns themselves, two
563 school teachers, a Federal tax collector, and the town Secretary.

114 The field work in Cherán was a cooperative enterprise, involving the work of numerous assistants. Most important of these helpers was Thomas McCorkle, of Berkeley, Calif. His greatest contribution was in accumulating the endless amount of detail necessary to the economic study, although there is scarcely a section of the paper which does not make use of data collected by him. Dr. Emmanuel Palacios, of the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas, is responsible for a great deal of the data on childbirth, infant care, midwifery, and medical practice in general. Sra. Silvia Rendón, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked particularly in the field of foods, but also contributed extensively on other topics, especially on matters dealing with women. She also supplied data from other towns, especially Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota. Sr. Pedro Carrasco R., of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, worked primarily on housing. His major contributions are included in two other papers (Beals, Carrasco, and McCorkle, 1944; Beals and Carrasco, 1944), but he also provided miscellaneous notes from Cherán, Angáhuan, Capacuaro, and Chilchota and some of the Lake Pátzcuaro towns. Some comparative notes from Patamban were collected by Ricardo Pozas, of the Escuela Nacional de Antropología, in the course of a study of pottery manufacture, the details of which are not included in this paper. Finally, some data were collected by Dorothy Beals and Margery McCorkle.

115 In addition to the foregoing, many persons in Cherán were of assistance. Throughout the entire period of the study two were especially helpful, Agustín Rangel and Pedro Chávez. The former, although a full-blooded Tarascan, had been born and educated in California. As a literate assistant he was extremely useful in many ways; for example, in searching the town archives and recording many important facts therefrom. Perhaps his most important service, however, was in providing an entreé into the homes of his almost immumerable relatives. Particularly to be mentioned are his parents,

ritory is close to the railroad which runs through the town of Zamora to Los Reyes. The southern boundary might be defined roughly as on a line from Los Reyes to Uruapan and thence close to the railway from Uruapan to Pátzcuaro, while the new highway from Mexico City to Guadalajara in some places runs just inside the northern limits and in others, just outside. Within or near the borders of the present-day Tarascan area occur a number of old Mexican towns closely associated with the historic Tarascans and their contemporary culture, which provide the administrative centers and the major market places. These towns are Pátzcuaro, Zacapu, Purépero, Zamora, Los Reyes, and Uruapan. In some instances other towns of local importance have arisen more recently, towns which were once Tarascan but are now occupied by Mestizos and deculturated Tarascans. A good example of such a town is Chilchota.

Viewed as a whole, the Tarascan area may be characterized generally as an elevated temperate region of sufficient rainfall, deep volcanic soils, and pine or mixed pine and hardwood forests. In detail there are differences, and a number of regions may be identified.

The easternmost region is that about Lake Pátzcuaro. The lake has an elevation of slightly over 7,000 feet, and most of the villages are either on the shore or upon islands in the lake. The forests have been cleared away around the lake except upon lands too steep to cultivate with the plow. Rainfall is heavy, but is concentrated in the summer months. The climate is temperate and cool even in midsummer.

North of Lake Pátzcuaro is a large fertile valley or depression near Zacapu, ringed about by hills and mountains covered with forest. Although there is but little difference in elevation from Lake Pátzcuaro, the climate is warmer and some tropical or subtropical plants such as sugarcane are grown on a small scale.

Over a range of mountains to the west of Zacapu is a fertile valley known as La Cañada. Here the climate is warmer and more arid, as is evidenced by the frequency of irrigation and extensive cultivation of citrus fruit, bananas, and similar tropical and subtropical plants.

[text continues on p. 7a]

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1: Beals E-5 (1940-1941) 1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

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[9,d]

MAP 1.—Tarascan territory. Towns in italic are Tarascan in culture and speech. Towns in roman are either of Mestizo origin or are primarily Mestizo in population and culture and Spanish in speech. The list of Tarascan towns shown is complete only in the vicinity of Cheran; the inadequacies of existing maps make it impossible to show all the Tarascan towns with any approach to accuracy.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascam
[p.15b]

troughs and pipes (pl. 3, upper left). Large tanks exist in the approximate center of town, and water is also piped to a fountain in the plaza. The troughs leak, however, and in some places are low enough to permit water to be dipped directly from them. In consequence, if the flow is small, water may not reach the tanks in sufficient quantity. The lower portion of the town receives no water directly and the effort of obtaining water in those sections, particularly the southwest district, is considerable.

FOREST UTILIZATION

The forests are one of the important and most utilized natural resources of Cherán. Firewood, charcoal, posts, railroad ties, shakes, and lumber of various sizes are secured from the woods. Forests cover a very large part of the Cherán lands and most of the timber is on public domain, although some forest patches may occur on privately owned land. The public domain is regarded as belonging to the town, and the Federal Government levies a nominal land tax on the community for the forest lands. Each head of a household pays a fee (*rústica*), usually 25 centavos a quarter, which is collected by a committee on community property (*bienes comunales*). This sum covers the taxes and gives each person the right to cut firewood from public lands. Persons exploiting other forest resources pay more.

Until recently utilization of other forest resources was also open to everyone. The Department of Forestry of the Federal Government is now attempting to control the exploitation of the forests, and since 1940 any use of the forest for purposes other than cutting firewood requires a permit. In 1941 an effort was being made to restrict all lumbering and charcoal burning to members of a cooperative. This is discussed later.

With the exception of a few wealthy persons, everyone who is not lazy cuts his own firewood.[7]

[7] This is general even in such Mestizoized towns as Chilchota. In the latter town, however, there is some selling of firewood. During planting and harvest times the price is $0.35 a *carga* (burro load in this case); the rest of the year it is $0.25 a *carga*. Some people in Angahuan make a business of taking firewood to Mestizo Zamora; similar cases occur in villages near Mestizo towns. *Ocote* (pitch pine), used principally for light, is also produced by the householder in Cherán. A long vertical cut is made on one side of a tree, which is gradually cut away as pitch accumulates. The tree is rarely cut through, but it usually dies from the operation. In Chilchota, where *ocote* (pitch pine) is sold,

[text continues on p.17a]

[p. 174]

313 Consequently, every Cherán male is a fairly competent axman and in a pinch can produce other forest products. Oak is considered far [824] superior to other woods for burning, but it is becoming scarce near the town. The best supply is near El Pilón, several kilometers away.

With some exceptions, most skilled woodsmen work only when they have to fill definite orders. In other words, no stock of lumber or shakes is accumulated against possible future sales. Lumber or shake workers usually are farmers who supplement their income by forest products when opportunity offers. Not infrequently one or two members of a large household do lumbering but help in the fields when necessary or when unoccupied.

[829] Pine is the main wood used for lumber, and fir for shakes. Trees ordinarily are cut with the ax (jáca). Trunks are cut in sections with a saw (*"sardina"*) (fig. 1, *g*), which is operated by two persons. The trunks are cleared and debarked with the ax. The trunk is then squared by splitting off slabs (*"tachones"*), with oak wedges some 20 cm. (8 in.) in length driven by an oaken maul or the butt of the ax. The slabs are used for firewood or fences. Thick planks called *"vigas"* (anything over 2 [401] inches in thickness) are then split out with wedges. Before use, heavy planks usually are dressed with a long-handled adz (angáru) (fig. 1, *e*). Thinner pieces, *tablas* (k'eréri), are sawed from squared sections of logs (pl. 4, upper right). The logs are elevated on a scaffolding of poles (or sometimes laid on poles across a saw pit) and sawed out by a saw (k'eréri ajákutarakua) about 2 m. (6 ft.) long and wider at one end than at the other (fig. 1, *d*; pl. 3, upper right). The handle at the wide end is fixed, and that at the narrow end is hooked over the teeth of the saw. Before sawing, the block of timber is marked with a cord used like a chalk line but employing charcoal instead of chalk. All the planks from a block of timber are usually sawed about two-thirds of the length of the block; work is then begun at the opposite end. Planks customarily are

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[438] 1 centavo buys a thick piece. In Parangaricutiro, partly Mestizoized, there is some cutting of firewood as a business. In one case a father and three sons, 10, 12, and 18 years of age, cut a cord a [435] day (16 cargas), which sold for $1.50 (all monetary values are in [563] Mexican currency). In Paricutín two widows without grown sons buy firewood. The women are not poor.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
[P.126] NU34 Tarasco NU34
Pátzcuaro

The Indian Village Communities of Mexico

128 The starting point of our discussion will be the Indian village communities formed after the Spanish conquest by a blend of Spanish and Indian institutions. These communities will be described in their general traits, common to all of central Mexico, in order to provide a picture of the national scene, and also because concrete illustrative material for the Tarascans is on some points unavailable at the present time.

175 621 Before the Spanish conquest, most of the Indians in the central valleys of Mexico, including the Tarascans, were organized in communities, their members tied together both by kinship bonds and by owning land in common.[1] Such communities were called *calpulli* in Nahuatl and *calpul*, *barrio*, or *pueblo* in Spanish sources.

The larger political units were formed by a number of calpulli brought together under a common government by a ruling nobility.

175 565 The Indians of the calpulli, or commoners, were subordinate to the nobility.[2] The nobles held the high positions in government, war and religion. The commoners had to pay tribute to them either in kind or in work. This labor was employed for public works or in tilling the land attached to offices held by the nobles.

[423] [427] In central Mexico the nobles could own private land which was worked by a third social class of tenants (Nahuatl, *mayeque*). There is no conclusive evidence that this type of landownership existed in Michoacan,[3] although it is highly probable.[4]

[563] After the conquest, the Spaniards replaced the Indian nobility as the dominant class in society. The commoners' tribute now went to the Spanish state or to individual conquistadores (encomenderos). The Spaniards also owned land privately in contrast to the communal ownership of Indian communities. They engaged in agriculture (mainly in cash crops such as sugar), cattle raising, and mining. They held all governmental positions and to

1. For the Tarascans, see Relación, 1869, 15, 21, 29, 33.
2. For Michoacan, see Relación, 1869, 13ff.; Zurita, 1891, 166.
3. Zurita, 1891, 166.
4. Relación, 1891, 34.

[P. 11-a]

134 Large cracks occur in the soil surface during the months of March and April, and moisture is evaporated from a depth of many inches. Consequently čaránda is a "temporal" soil, i. e., it can be planted only after the rains begin. Because of its clayey texture, it erodes easily once the plant cover is stripped and the soil structure is destroyed. The cultivated slopes around Lake Pátzcuaro, for example, are one of the worst-eroded agricultural areas of Mexico. Wherever čaránda soils occur, the surface is scarred by gullies, which are becoming a characteristic landscape feature in the low areas surrounding the Sierra.

134 241 **Minor soil types.**—Among the most fertile in the Tarascan area are a few minor soil types. These include the alluvium in La Cañada and the lacustrine deposits around the shores of Lake Pátzcuaro and within the recently desiccated Zacapu Basin. Containing abundant organic
[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 11b.--ANALYST]

TARASCAN
POPULATION

THE RECESSION OF NATIVE SPEECH

191 178 171 One of the outstanding developments in Tarascan history has been the drastic areal recession of indigenous speech. Today the territory in which Tarascan (P'orépeča) is spoken represents only one-fifteenth of its pre-Conquest extent. The pre-Spanish linguistic area (discussed by Brand, 1944) included most of the present State of Michoacán, except the Pacific slope of the Sierra Madre del Sur between Colima and the lower Balsas (map 7). The political limits of the Tarascan state, however, extended beyond the language boundary: in the west into Jalisco, in the south to the Pacific, and in the north to the Bajío of Guanajuato (Brand, 1944; cf. Stanislawski, 1947 a). The Tarascan cultural core centered in the north-central part of the Empire, comprising the Lake Pátzcuaro-Cuitzeo area and the pine forests of the Sierra and the upper escarpment zone (Stanislawski, 1947 a). Tarascans extended their speech southward into the *tierra caliente* (basins of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas) by colonization from the highlands during the 14th and early 15th centuries. Likewise, the P'orépeča settlements around the eastern end of Lake Chapala and south thereof (Mazamitla) appear to have been 15th-century colonies. Within the

191 563 pre-Conquest area various islands of foreign tongues existed; these represented colonies settled with permission of Tarascan chiefs. There were
[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 11b--ANALYST]

134 material and essential chemical elements, most
[241] of these soils are cropped annually without fallow. A peculiar soil type, called *uirds*, occurs near the edge of a lava flow on the southwestern shore of Lake Pátzcuaro, on Jarácuaro Island, and near Ihuatzio. The subsoil is a fibery-textured white clay (35.4 percent fine clay), from which the whitish-gray adobe bricks of Jarácuaro and Ihuatzio are made; the topsoil, when mixed with lacustrine deposits (as on Jarácuaro Island), forms a fertile loam extremely high in organic matter (nearly 5 percent) and calcium carbonate (7.7 percent). On the other hand, when the parent material lies close to the surface (as around Arócutin), the *uirds* is one of the poorest soils in the vicinity.[16]

[16] A similar soil type occurs at the edge of a lava flow along the highway on the outskirts of Zacapu. The relation between vulcanism and the formation of *uirds* is not clear.

TARASCAN
POPULATION

191 three inclusions of Matlaltzinca or Pirinda (Otomí
563 stock): (1) the largest, near present Morelia, from Undameo northeast to Charo, (2) at Taimeo, southeast of Lake Cuitzeo, and (3) at Huetamo near the Balsas.[17] Moreover, a group of Apaneca colonists lived at Guayameo, near Sirándaro on the Balsas, and an islet of Teco occurred between Tancítaro and Uruapan.[18]

161 Various factors contributed to the areal retrogression of Tarascans during the Spanish colonial and postcolonial periods. One factor was actual decrease of Indian population caused mainly by European diseases. The population of some
[167] areas was further weakened or depleted by migration of Tarascans as laborers to distant mining and agricultural centers. Moreover, Spanish and mulatto settlement within the indigenous area was a powerful force of hispanicization; wherever stock-raising estancias or sugar haciendas were established, native speech slowly disappeared. Conversely, in those areas shunned
[96] by Spanish settlers, Tarascan has been preserved to this day.

177 The most serious shock which the indigenous
164 cultures suffered from Spanish contact was the frightful toll taken by the contagious European
161 diseases that became epidemic throughout central

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM P. 12b — ANALYST]

[17] Data obtained from the following Relaciones Geográficas in Mus. Nac., leg. 102: Rel. de Necotlán and Rel. de Cusso; Mus. Nac., leg. 98, Rel. de Charo Mathalzinga.

[18] Mus. Nac., leg. 102, Rel. de Sirándaro y Guayameo; Ponce Relación, 1872, vol. 1, p. 19; Mus. Nac., Col. de Gómez Orozco, vol. 1, Rel. de Tancítaro.

[P. 12 a]

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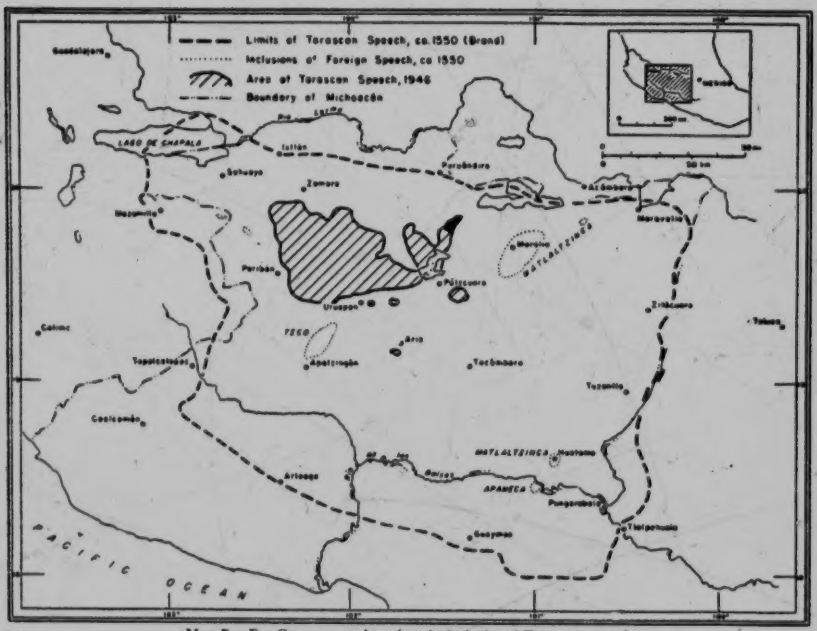

MAP 7.—Pre-Conquest and modern boundaries of Tarascan speech.

191 were probably even larger prior to 1737, the year
177 of a disastrous smallpox epidemic. Certain areas, however, particularly the pastures of the evergreen marshes (the lower Lerma, the Zacapu district, the Zamora Valley), were mainly Spanish in speech. By 1600 the northern boundary of Tarascan had moved north into the Bajío of Guanajuato, where Spanish wheat farms and
[166] stock ranches had attracted large numbers of native workers from the southern pueblos (Zavala and Castello, 1939-46, vol. 5, p. 30). In the north-
[563] western sector a reemergent Mexican (Teco) speech had replaced Tarascan (AGN Historia, vol. 73, ff. 192–210; 212–226), while in the northeast and east Mazahua and Matlaltzinca were encroaching farther into Tarascan territory. The islands of Matlaltzinca east and southwest of Valladolid still held, but that of Huetamo had probably disappeared (AGN Historia, vol. 73, f. 139).

By 1800 (map 9) the percentage of Tarascan-
191 speaking folk in the northern area had decreased
177 notably, especially along the frontiers. The Matlaltzinca-Tarascan area of Charo-Zinapécuaro
[563] was still largely indigenous, and a zone from Cerro el Zirate northward to Lake Cuitzeo contained a large proportion of native speech. Fifty years later (map 10)[24] the Tarascan-speaking people had been reduced to small isolated islands, partly a result of frequent military and political upheavals following the struggle for independence. In 1940 (map 11), after nearly 100 years of intermittent political turmoil, Tarascan speech had disappeared from the northern grasslands, except for a few resistant pueblos on the northern edge of the Sierra. After a slow weakening in the colonial period, the native language in the North gradually collapsed during the last 150 years.

563 **The western area.**—Immediately west of the
191 Sierra lies a southward prong of the northern
177 plateau landscape, which, like the North, was early settled by whites and mulattoes. At the beginning of the 17th century the large graben valley of Cotija was occupied by cattle estancias, and the settlement of Cotija was composed entirely of Spanish blood. As late as 1800 this valley, except its eastern end, was an island of Spaniards and some mulattoes and mestizos sur-

[127] [24] Population statistics were not available to construct an isopleth map for 1940. Approximate boundaries of Tarascan speech were compiled from various mid-19th century reports: "Noticia general de los terrenos de comunidad de indígenas del Estado" (in Memoria de la Legislatura de Michoacán (1869); AAM, siglo XIX, leg. 707, Memorias estadísticas . . . 1841, Listas de los cabeceras de curato . . . 1845; Orozco y Berra, 1864, pp. 371-373; Romero, 1862.

563 177 191 rounded by Tarascans. A few Spanish ranchers and traders settled also in Tingüindín, a large Indian village at the western edge of the Sierra; but the extreme western Tarascan zone from Mazamitla to Los Reyes did not completely lose its native speech until the beginning of the present century.

The tierra caliente and tierra templada.—The story of the recession of Tarascan speech in the *tierra caliente* roughly parallels that in the northern [164] plateau. In the former area disease probably decimated the native population more completely than in the north, and its Europeanization was consequently more rapid. After the period of gold panning in the southern tributaries of the Tepalcatepec and Balsas Rivers, the Spaniards turned to cattle ranching in the tropical bush around Cutzamala, Pungarabato, and Huetamo in the Balsas Basin and near Apatzingán and Tomatlán in the Tepalcatepec lowland. Although the tropical grasses and shrubs were less nourishing than those in the northern plateau, the *tierra caliente* was favored by abundant springs and streams. As in the north, the natives rapidly became *vaqueros* and mixed with the mulattoes and Negroes on the ranches. Moreover, during the last decades of the 16th century Spaniards began to establish sugar plantations and mills in the upper limits of the *tierra caliente*.[23] The mill settlements (*trapiches, ingenios*), like the cattle ranches, were centers of acculturation and miscegenation. Large groups of Negro and mulatto slaves, male and female, were imported to operate the *trapiches* (according to colonial law, Indians were exempt from mill labor), while Tarascan [464] forced and free workers planted and harvested cane in fields nearby. Race mixing and gradual loss of native speech was inevitable. Again, ex- 191 ploitation of the copper mines of the *tierra caliente* [177] and the establishment of smelting centers in Tzatzio and Santa Clara was another activity which helped acculturation and hastened the loss of the aboriginal language. In 1750 the limits of Tarascan speech still coincided with the 16th century pre-Spanish boundaries, but in some areas, such as the Tepalcatepec Basin, the percentage of inhabitants speaking Tarascan was only 25 percent of the total. In the *tierra templada* sugar-growing districts south of Zitácuaro, in the Peribán Valley, and the upper escarpment zone around Ario and Tacámbaro, the ratio of

[23] In 1540 a sugar mill had been established in Taximaroa, on the plateau above Turpan (Paso y Troncoso, 1905, vol. 1, p. 253).

[Text continues TOP of P. 172 ... Analyst]

571 66 largely in terms of the normal and special political functions of kinship, ceremonial kinship, and friendship. But the cacical association is more than the concatenation of these social structures; it is a distinct political entity with its own patterns of action and its unique goal of power over the community.

667 Let us now turn to these distinctive workings of the cacicazgo. Political sovereignty is exercised primarily by the cacique and his inner core of relatives and friends--eight men in all. They are more or less supported by some twenty lesser leaders. Political matters are informally discussed at length by the leaders and some of the citizens at large. Important policy decisions are made at special meetings, sometimes secretly convened, after a partial decision has been previously reached. Important legal cases are likewise resolved before the court opens by the inner core leaders, especially by the oldest nephew of the cacique. Political decisions at the special meetings are generally by majority vote, but often a majority of the inner eight is enough, and in extreme cases the cacique imposes his will alone. The matters dealt with in special meetings and conversations between the inner leaders are primarily the following: all land distribution questions, public works (especially irrigation problems), the making up of the ballots for formal office, and reprisals against enemies and the quashing of nascent interest groups. Effective government is informal, and a description solely in terms of formal political institutions would miss the main point of Durazno politics.

The informal structure of one cacical group in Durazno has always been paralleled by that of a contending or fallen party with its would-be cacique, secret meetings, and the same patterns of organization. At some times, as during 1927, the two parties have been equal in strength. At other times, as in 1956, the fallen party has contained only [621] an aging leader with a pathetic kinship nucleus and some twenty followers. Durazno, like villages all over Michoacan, has a normal pattern of two or more contending factions, each related independently and informally to other villages and higher structures.

186 578 563 The ethnic factor is often important here. During the agrarian period (1921-26), Durazno and the two other agrarian Indian villages of the valley fought together against the mestizo hirelings and Spanish landlords. A major turning point in Durazno political and cultural history came when opposing Indian factions within the village began using mestizo neighbors against their own "blood." The village agrarian caciques have themselves always been culturally marginal, participants in both Tarascan and mestizo culture. They feel a high ambivalence in both directions: partial rejection of their Indian followers, resentment toward mestizos, and different kinds of identification with both groups.

The village leaders, as political "middlemen" (Wolf, 1956), relate the political demands and supplies of their constituents to the partially complementary demands and supplies of the higher echelons, of the Cardenas machine in the case of Michoacan. In the case of two strong contending factions, both are separately related to two contesting state-wide structures, as during the "serratista" period from 1932 to 1934. The indigenous, factional structure of the village, with its qualities of an ongoing clan vendetta, is sensitively and immediately connected to national "theoretical" questions such as the "decollectivization of the ejidal patrimony" (1925). The national problems translate downward into specific blood-and-soil-issues.[3] The political relation between national structures and nerve-center villages like Durazno is constant and often direct; the Indian cacique goes straight to Mexico City to confer with the national party chairman.

632 661 The formal government in Durazno is divided between the civil and ejidal arms. The three civil officers enjoy slightly more prestige and pervasive power in the community organization and the arbitration of legal cases, while the four ejidal posts are the more

186 In Paracho, when the question of ethnic identification was considered, it was found that cultural and linguistic rather than biological factors were indeed most important in the thinking of the citizenry. Such social distance as exists between members of the town, however, cannot be said to stem from an individual's classification as either Indio or Mestizo.
[101] Paracho is located in the heart of the Tarascan Sierra and prides itself not only on being the *cabecera* (seat of government) of the *municipio* (county), but also on being a cultural and trade center for the people of surrounding towns.—"The Capital of the Sierra" is the way in which its citizens describe the town. In this role Paracho has dealings with the Tarascan-speaking Indians of nearby communities and, to some extent at least, recognizes its dependence upon the good will of these people for its own continued pre-eminence in the region. Parachoans consider that their activities, behavior and interests serve as a model for the people in the smaller towns. For this reason, the interests of the residents of Paracho are directed toward the more Indian characteristics of their neighbors as well as toward the more Mestizo-like activities which many Parachoans have accepted as their standard of behavior, a type of behavior which is demanded of participants in an "urban-like" culture. There is no evert conflict between these two cultural models which coexist in the region.

556 Class distinctions within Paracho are incipient and, hence, not yet formalized. In general, prestige within the community accrues to those
563 with wealth, with nice homes, and who live better than others. Tarascans
565 (Indians) as well as Mestizos can and do achieve such status, and both groups are to be found living in all sections of the pueblo. People are not considered Mestizo because they are wealthy, nor are all the poor in Paracho called Indian. There are no recognizable Indian or Mestizo subgroups in Paracho, a fact indicative of the indifference of the citizens to such distinctions within the town limits. Wealth and poverty, local importance and insignificance may characterize siblings within the same family.

186 There is considerable indefiniteness among Parachoans concerning their ethnic identity. Using those criteria accepted elsewhere in Latin
563 America, Paracho is culturally, in the main, a Mestizo town with an urban orientation. We were told on several occasions that Paracho is a Mestizo community. However, a large proportion of the people consider themselves to be Indian, although at the same time these same people believe themselves to be "better" than those in the "small Indian places" in the vicinity. As an example of the two standards of identification one can cite the case of the local head of the Federal project to combat illiteracy through the use of written Tarascan. He is a Parachoan by birth. He is referred to by members of the community as Mestizo, yet in the same breath these people say, "Camilo is a son of the pueblo because he has so much interest in things Indian." Most of his work, however, takes place

8: Kaplan E-5 (1948)1953 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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in communities other than Paracho, places which are culturally considerably more Indian than is Paracho.

When we inquired into the question of ethnic identification, it soon became apparent that the concept of biological race was not important in the town. Members of the populace generally regard themselves either as "sons of the pueblo" or as having come to Paracho from elsewhere. Consequently when the question was put, "To what race do your parents belong?" responses ranged from "I don't know" through "They came from here" or "They were born here" to "We are all people of Paracho" or even "All the 'Romeros' are one family, they all belong to the same race." The question was therefore worded either, "Are your parents native (*natural*), Mestizo or what?" or, "Are your parents Indians, Spanish (*de razon*) or what?" and — usually in one of these two forms — the question was put to 256 people.[4] It was our purpose to standardize the question, to secure comparable results, and yet to leave the way open for free elaboration.

The field team consisted of a physical anthropologist, the able field assistant, Prof. Pablo Valesquez G., who conducted the interviews connected with the mensurational part of the study, and the social anthropologist. The responses to the question were noted as heard, together with such supplementary explanations as the informants occasionally proffered. This record was kept independently of that made by the field assistant and both have been utilized.

Two hundred and eighty-nine of the parents were reported as being Indian and 167 as being Mestizo. Although almost all persons were able and willing to make the judgment it did not always carry much conviction and one got the impression that emotional involvement was usually totally lacking.

The series may be further analysed to note the frequency with which children report similarities or differences in ethnic identification between parents. In the great preponderance of instances children reported both parents to be of the same ethnic background, either both Mestizo or both Indian. This regularity of parallel responses is at least in part derived from the nature of the formal interview, where it is easier to give the same answer to the same question about two individuals than it is to consider the question twice. It is interesting, however, to note that where "mixed" parentage was mentioned, a significantly larger number of respondents reported their fathers as Mestizos and their mothers as Indian than did the reverse. The more frequent mention of Indian mothers may represent an overt expression of a realization that the fathers — or rather, the men in general — are the ones who enter into the Mestizo-like activities (com-

[4] In the tabulations which follow "Indian" includes responses recorded as *Indio, Indígena, Natural*, and Tarascan; "Mestizo" includes responses recorded as *Mestizado, Cruzado, de razon*, Mestizo, half and half, revueltas, and white.